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INET PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA

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TRANSLATION

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO TO THE MEETING OF THE
PANTJA TUNGGAL FROM THE WHOLE OF INDONESIA,
STATE PALACE, DJAKARTA, 23 OCTOBER 1965.

(Translator's Note: Pantja Tunggal: the five leading authorities in the Provinces, i.e., the heads of Local Government, Army, Police, Prosecutor-General's Department and the National Front).

Saudara-Saudara,

First of all, I would like to ask you, are you all in good health? All of you? None of you has a headache?

Thank God, indeed I wanted to ask you not to let your heads get dizzy, not to lose your heads, as I have said several times, both in my address to the plenary meeting of Cabinet in Bogor the other day, and when I installed Major-General Suharto as Commander of the Army. Let us not lose our heads, let us not lose our wits! Let us be calm, and consider all problems in their right proportions. Do not let us be too much governed by our sentiments, or in your case even, you must not be governed by sentiments at all. Do not let us get ^{feelings} enflamed, enflamed in our/and our thoughts. But let us be calm, calm, calm, in facing the happenings in our Revolution such as we know as the 30th September incident.

In my address to the plenary meeting of Cabinet, as well as in my interviews with foreign journalists — for instance, four days ago I met fourteen foreign journalists from Japan. As you know, events in Indonesia since 30th September have drawn great attention from the outside world. Some of the outside world see those happenings and their consequences in an objective manner, a large part with wishful thinking, while another part even try deliberately to influence our way of thinking. Anyway, in my address to the plenary meeting of Cabinet, in my interviews with foreign journalists, in my speech when I installed Major-General Suharto as Commander of the Army, I pointed out that the events of the 30th September cum suis, with all that is connected with it — and of all that is connected with it, some happened before that date, some happened on that date and some happened afterwards; the prologue, the facts of 30th September, and the epilogue — that all these happenings can be said to be ordinary things, normal things in a revolution.

And we, who have ^{cure} to/our revolution from all its diseases — Saudara-Saudara, please catch my term, "disease", this means that I do not condone the 30th September happenings; it means that I consider the 30th September as a disease — we must realise that the events

the events on 30th September and all that is connected with it, are events which are to be found in any revolution. Any revolution that is truly a revolution, not if it is just a palace revolution, or a putsch. If a revolution is truly a revolution, a revolution in the truest sense of the word, then such events, as I said in my address when I installed Major-General Suharto, are just a strong wave in the ocean, or a strong wave in a big river which is thundering down from the mountains to the ocean. Once I use the word "ripple", a ripple in the ocean of the revolution. A ripple in an ocean is of course not just a small ripple. A ripple in an ocean is sometimes bigger than this palace! But compared to that ocean, that wave is just a ripple.

Now, our Revolution is a true revolution, Saudara-Saudara. A revolution which I have described in various ways. I have used the expression Pantjamuka (five-faceted) Revolution. I have also used the expression Anekamuka (many-faceted) Revolution. I have even said that it is the greatest revolution of mankind, etc., etc.

The 30th September incident with its prologue, the facts of what happened, and the epilogue, are an abnormality — or something normal in a revolution which is truly a revolution.

In one of my interviews with foreign journalists I told them about the French Revolution. The French Revolution was a true revolution because it completely changed the political thinking of that period. Before the French Revolution, the political thinking was feudalistic. The king decided everything in a feudalistic way. Louis XIV even called himself le roi soleil, the sun god — soleil means sun. "I am the sun god, I am le roi soleil. I am the king of kings, the sun god". It was the same with the Japanese, who had their sun goddess, Amaterasu Omikami. That was feudal, Amaterasu Omikami. Those of you who were with PETA (Indonesian army during the Japanese occupation during World War II), or in the Kyogun, you know well what Amaterasu Omikami was.

Every historian knows and understands that the French Revolution was truly a revolution. Because it changed, it upset the political thinking of that period, it completely changed feudalism ^{what is} into/called parliamentary democracy. The French Revolution gave birth to parliamentary democracy, liberal democracy. And this French Revolution did not happen in one or two years, as I have often said. Beginning in 1789, it was only in 1848 that one could say that the French Revolution had achieved its aims. Eleven plus forty eight = 59 years, was the course of the French Revolution proper. And I am not yet talking of the prologue to the French Revolution. If I talk about the prologue to the French Revolution, then I have to mention the philosophers who preceded that French Revolution. I have to mention Voltaire, Jean

Jacques Rousseau,

Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu. If we include the era of Rousseau, Voltaire, of Montesquieu, one can say that the French Revolution took a hundred years.

But what I want to ask you now is, do you consider the French Revolution to have been a calm, smooth current? No! The French Revolution took place with violent shocks. Take for instance the period of Mirabeau, when Mirabeau was at the Tennis Court in 1789, the Oath of the Tennis Court, when for the first time the king was opposed.

On that day, Mirabeau and his friends gathered on the Tennis Court. And the king, Louis XVI, knew that Mirabeau was going to do something. The king sent somebody to the Tennis Court to order Mirabeau and his friends to disperse, to leave the Tennis Court, they were not allowed to gather there. For the first time in the history of France, somebody, and that was Mirabeau himself, said to the King's messenger: Please go back and tell the one who sends you, the king, that we will not leave this place unless forced by bayonets. That was the beginning of the French Revolution. We are not prepared to get out of here unless forced by bayonets. The messenger returned to the palace, he informed king Louis XVI. And Louis XVI did not dare do anything, and thus the French Revolution started.

However, as you have seen, what happened after Mirabeau, did it continue to go on smoothly? Oh no, no! The period of Robespierre, there were shocks. The period of Danton, shocks again. Danton himself was beheaded under the guillotine. The period of Marat was the same. He was in his bath-tub when he was stabbed to death by a beautiful woman from another group. And this beautiful woman was herself beheaded afterwards under the guillotine. She was Charlotte Corday. Do you remember the name, those of you who went to the Dutch high school, Charlotte Corday who stabbed Marat in his bath-tub? There was also the period of Camille des Moulains, who was beheaded too. When you visit Paris at present, the people of Paris will proudly show you: here, at the Place de la Concorde, we beheaded Marie Antoinette; here we beheaded Louis XVI, etc., etc. The period of Napoleon was the same. Then ultimately, it was only in 1848 that officially the feudal system was replaced by the system of parliamentary democracy, or liberal democracy. That was an example of a true revolution, Saudara-Saudara-

It was the same with the Russian Revolution. Just try to analyse the Russian Revolution. One can say that it was started in 1905 with a movement which, for the first time, opposed feudalism, the authority of the Tzar. It did not go smoothly even until recently, it always went with shocks. There was the period of Kerensky, Kerenski was followed by the period of Lenin, which was full of shocks. Lenin was followed by the period of Stalin, full of shocks. The period of Stalin was followed

was followed by the period of Malenkov, it was also full of shocks. Then came the period of Zinoviev, also full of shocks. The period of Beria, full of shocks. The period of Kaganovich, full of shocks. Indeed, until today no one knows where Kaganovich's body was buried, it disappeared completely. The period of Khrushchev, also shocks, until he toppled from his throne.

That was another example that a revolution always takes such a course.

Take our own revolution, what haven't we experienced in our revolution! Now, tell me, what haven't we experienced in our revolution? We experienced PRRI, we experienced Permesta. PRRI which started when Colonel Simbolon and his friends drank wine and pledged that they would begin — after drinking wine, he smashed the glass; yes, that's the way they do it: when you pledge an oath, you smash your glass! We went through what then developed into PRRI. We have experienced Permesta, we experienced the "South Moluccan Republic", we experienced Darul Islam, we experienced Kahar Muzakar, we experienced Madiun, we experienced the mutiny of the 426 Battalion. Heh, my friends from Central Java, perhaps the mutiny of the 426 Battalion is still fresh in your minds! We have gone through all kinds of things. However, thanks be to God, as a revolution we have always been able to overcome all this. We have overcome PRRI-Permesta. We have overcome 426. We have overcome the Third of July, when I myself was in danger at the time. We have overcome the Seventeenth October, when my own life, here in Merdeka Palace, was in danger. When, properly counted, eleven gun barrels were aimed at me — for at that time, I was standing on the steps of Merdeka Palace, and I counted: eleven gun barrels pointing at me. We have experienced Kartosuwirjo. We have experienced Kahar Muzakar. We have experienced all kinds of things.

However, thanks be to God, we have been able to overcome all those things. Because we have been able to consider those happenings in their right revolutionary proportions. In the proportions of the revolution.

That is why, Saudara-Saudara, after what happened on 30th September, I, as Great Leader of the Revolution, in the first place I saw in this 30th September incident not merely an issue of the Army. It is a political issue. Therefore it is an issue of the Revolution. And I want you all to come to understand that the Thirtieth of September is not a mere issue of the Army — whether it is the Army in the Tjakrabirawa, whether it is the Army of the 454th Battalion, whether it is the Army of the 530th Battalion, whether it is the Army in the persons of the murdered Generals. Do not be narrow in your view. This is not a mere issue of the Army, neither is it a mere issue
of the Air

of the Air Force. And I firmly say this: there are individuals from the Air Force, there are individuals from the Army, there are individuals from the Tjakrabirawa, there are individuals from other groups involved. But, taken as a whole, this is an issue of the Revolution.

And we all, Saudara-Saudara, have to safeguard our Revolution from getting weak or becoming extinct. And that goes particularly for me. It is me whom the M.P.R.S. appointed as Great Leader of the Revolution. It is me who has been put at the top of the leadership of this Revolution. It is me whom the people will call to account should this Revolution not go well. This goes particularly for me. I really do have to understand that 30 September cum suis, and all that goes with it, its prologue and its aftermath, are an issue of the revolution. And I have to solve all the problems concerning this issue. And that is why I called for you, my Assistants in the Provinces, you from the Pantja Tunggal, to gather here today so that you may first of all understand my way of thinking, the line of my thinking, the headlines of my thinking. And then receive orders . . . from me which you have to implement, which you have to carry out!

When the 30th September incident had just started, at the beginning of October, I immediately gave the command that we should keep calm. Be calm, be calm, be calm. I even said to all the Ministers "are you crazy that you lose your heads?" Yes, I used those words at the time, "are you crazy that you lose your heads?" "Keep your heads cool!" I said. Do not lose your heads. Come on! Back to your posts! Yes, that was my command to all the Ministers. And I also said "am I crazy that I would dissolve my Cabinet?" No! I am not going to dissolve this present Cabinet, Unless I myself think it necessary to make changes. But all you Ministers go back to your posts and do your duty! Do not lose your head, keep your head cool!

Also to you, all the members of the Pantja Tunggal, wherever you come from: "To your posts!" Do not lose your heads, keep your heads cool! Do what I order you to do, which is: face these problems with a cool head, with calm. Moreover, you people have to help make, help achieve this calm.

At times, Saudara-Saudara, I receive — and I thank God, not in the first place from the country regions, in Diakarta here — I receive, well: expressions of "loyalty to Bung Karno, loyalty to the President, loyalty to the Supreme Commander, loyalty to the Great Leader of the Revolution, prepared to obey every command"; but, sometimes of late, I get the feeling that this is merely lip-service. Not from all, but from a number of individuals. Lipservice in saying "loyal", but in their acts I feel as if they are treating me like so much dirt! They do not carry out my command. And my command is firmly this: do not enflame, do not fan up sentiments. Because we cannot solve this issue.

this issue

this issue of the Revolution, if we are enflamed by our sentiments. Not only within the country, but also abroad.

Frankly speaking, one day I kicked out someone who has control over this newspaper: "get out!" Because he kept on instigating; doing so in a vulgar way, too, Saudara-Saudara! Only yesterday I was angry again. I was angry. One of the newspapers, for instance, alleged that Bapak Djuanda's death was caused by drinking wine from the Chinese People's Republic! Isn't it true that this appeared in one of the newspapers? Now look, I understand, I know this was intended to provoke us to be suspicious of the People's Republic of China, to be angry with the People's Republic of China. This morning also, to be frank, I was angry with some of the Ministers: - you are a doctor, you are a doctor, you are a doctor, you know what Djuanda died of?! That paper alleged that Djuanda was, so to speak, poisoned by the Chinese! Don't hold your tongues! That must be refuted! Tell them, no, Djuanda died of a heart attack.

However, Saudara-Saudara, this was done on purpose by the newspapers to build up a feeling of hatred against ^{the} Chinese People's Republic, hatred against the Chinese. What would then be the results? Racism would be fanned up here. And some incidents of racism have already occurred — and this while racism is not only against our principles, but will altogether blacken our name abroad! We always accuse "Malaysia" of being based on racism. Yes, didn't I tell you a while ago that I asked Tunku Abdulrachman Putra why he wanted to establish "Malaysia"? He said yes, Chinese.....Chinese majority.....Chinese.....Chinese.....Chinese; we want to over-vote the Chinese. I immediately said: wrong! No state can stand firmly if it is based on racism. We are also against racism in South Africa. Lo and behold and here we are stupid enough to fan up racism!

Now look, look, look here, Saudara-Saudara, I am responsible for the course of the Revolution, am I not rightly angry? Yes, I am indeed angry with my Assistants. You, carry out my orders! Because it is for the sake of the Revolution! It is not for my sake! It is not for the sake of the Generals! It is not for the sake of hundreds of members of Pemuda Rakjat who were killed! It is not because of them. It is for the sake of the Revolution! The Revolution has to march onwards! Because only when our Revolution marches onwards can our country be safeguarded and can our goal be achieved.

And this still continues, Saudara-Saudara: incite, incite, incite, enflame sentiments, by all and every means. Just now I only mentioned one example, one example. There are more, there are other examples.

You have the news-item that gets into newspaper several times. Ooh, it is repeated, repeated, once more repeated. Once even — counting properly — I saw the same picture published eight times in the newspapers! Eight, properly counted, eight times! What for?! Hey, to be frank,

to be frank, mind you, to be frank, it has come to this, that people are now getting fed up, fed up! Do they think we don't have eyes, don't have ears, can't think for ourselves, that we have to be spoon-fed up to eight times?! And it is always the same, always the same, always the same. Do they think we are stupid!

Now look, read the newspapers that are published these days. Do they inform us of the happenings in the world? Ten per cent, maybe. Ninety per cent is only about happenings here. Come now, I ask you, isn't this true? When I say that ninety per cent of news-giving at present is only about thissss, thissss only! Actually, Saudara-Saudara, newspapers should give us news from here and also news about events of interest to us in the world. Issues of our Revolution in the world. This is not ^{the} case at all, however. Never before did I go through a period in which our struggle against Necolim has — so to speak — been forgotten as it is now. Yes, there are people who do remember our struggle against Necolim. But alas, they are few, Saudara-Saudara. Compare the situation at present with that at the time when I called for volunteers for our confrontation. At that time some twenty-one million young men and young women spontaneously expressed their wish to become volunteers. Today, what has happened to that spirit, Saudara-Saudara?! What has happened to that spirit?

Today, there is only this mood of hmm, the Chinese are not trustworthy! They poisoned Djuanda. The Chinese People's Republic did not fly the flag half-mast. Forgetting that we have received a substantial amount of aid from the Chinese People's Republic during Trikora and Dwikora. Forgetting our Dwikora. But we are too much drugged by our sentiments.

That is why, Saudara-Saudara, once more in front of you all at present, I ask you whom I consider to be of the same kith and kin, I expect of you all not to lose your heads, not to join in getting your spirit, your sentiments enflamed! Instead, keep the direction of your thoughts towards the command of the President/Supreme Commander/Great Leader of the Revolution and towards the struggle against Necolim. God willing, Saudara-Saudara, God willing, as soon as I ^{get} a clear picture I will find a political solution, I solve the problem, God willing, with the help of the One and Only God to whom I pray. I am not the all-wise man, no. However, I always ask God Almighty to help me, to give me guidance. Ihdinas sirotol mustakim. Guide me on the right path. Show me the right path. I never forget to say this.

But before I give a political solution, I want to know the actual prologue, the actual facts, the actual aftermath. And all this in an objective way.

Saudara-Saudara,

Saudara-Saudara, in the last sitting of the Supreme Operational Command (Koti) — this is a secret, a secret I give you — I ordered the Staff to draft three commands for me. Commands which I would give the people concerning the events of 30 September. One of these three commands, one of these three drafts I am not yet able to accept, so that I shall give the command to you later on. As you have read in the newspapers and heard from the radio, there are only two. The command I am not yet going to accept, that I am not going to issue yet, to execute, is the command that it were as though from right now it had already been ^{fixed} ~~fixed~~ this is wrong, this is wrong, this is wrong, this is wrong.

Yes, I know, the murdering of someone is not an act that can be justified. And I say straight out, the events of 30th September were stupid, wrong, killing the Generals was wrong! Wrong! Wrong! And I am angry about those events. But to settle all these things, I do not consider it ^{time} ~~the~~ yet, not at this moment, before I am able to define all the facts, the facts of the prologue, the facts of the events themselves, the facts of the epilogue. I have not given this third command yet.

Some of you are jurists. In order that a jurist can execute the law as a judge, he must first make some preliminary investigation; from that preliminary investigation you can obtain some picture of the matter. The police make a preliminary investigation, which is given to the prosecutor. The prosecutor also makes a preliminary investigation; then, later on, this is given to the official called in Dutch the rechter commissaris. The rechter commissaris examines it again, investigates once more, whether there is a valid case here before the law or not, whether there would be a valid case or not. If the rechter commissaris says yes, there is a valid case here, only then is it given to the judge to be further settled and investigated. But if it comes to a stop with the rechter commissaris, the rechter commissaris says no, no, no, there has not been enough investigation, thorough investigation yet, and the rechter commissaris returns the matter again to those below him in order to be more closely investigated.

Now, that is what I want to do, Saudara-Saudara. I really do want to investigate, to examine this matter objectively beforehand. And for that purpose I ask for calm, quiet. And I have said already that both domestically and abroad, I shall, God willing, punish anyone who has attempted homicide, I shall punish anyone who is wrong: no matter what the punishment may be. However, I also face the political issue of these events; for that reason, I must really be cautious. Cautious in the sense of not being rash. I must gather the objective facts first.

facts first. And, I have just said, what objective fact? — of the prologue, the fact of the event itself, of the epilogue. And with regard to the epilogue, I see, very sadly, that to a great extent we have spoilt things for ourselves. What was, let us say, just a national question, has now become international.

Just think what had happened with the People's Republic of China. We have had a protest from China. For what reason? Well, ~~some~~ something happened at the Chinese Trade Commissioner's. Even the day before yesterday, or yesterday, there was yet another incident, in Petamburan Road. What was at the bottom of it, the reason for it? Sentiment is being enflamed too much. Whom is sentiment being roused by? By our own blokes. It goes without saying that the youth read the newspapers; for instance, this sort of thing: Diuanda died from the effects of poison, he was poisoned. That was the design, the meaning of the substance of that article. Well, of course the youth were angry with China; they took revenge; the Chinese Commissioner's was attacked. Yesterday, or the day before, Djati Petamburan was attacked.

The day before yesterday I got yet another report. About some people in Pondok Gede, ordinary people in Pondok Gede. Persons in uniform came to the people in Pondok Gede, shot them dead; their bodies were put in a jeep, taken off in the direction of Lobang Buaya; and, apparently because it became known that they had been shot and carried off in the direction of Lobang Buaya, because this was known, the jeep was turned around and they were taken to the Klender region. Today, I am still awaiting reports as to where those bodies are and who did it. All the reports that have reached me are preliminary, namely, 6 persons clad in uniform. Now, an incident like this, what is it? As someone who wants to be objective I think it is the outcome of the fanning of feelings, the consequence of enflaming feelings. We could go on and on like that. If a stop is not put to this enflaming of feelings, we can never go ahead; on every occasion there will be incidents like this — be it the burning down of Chinese houses, be it racialism, be it another such incident as happened the day before yesterday at Pondok Gede, whatever it may be that happens, and we will never get out of it. Therefore, I ask you, you, all of you, to understand this order of mine, to understand the line of my leadership of the Revolution.

I said just now that I had already ordered two commands. Please attend, I am going to read these two commands. For again, again, again, even these commands which you, Achmadi, gave out to the newspapermen were not printed in the right way, either. What happened? Yes, but you must control how it is printed in the papers! I want these commands of mine to be printed in the newspapers word for word and exactly

and exactly as I gave them to you, from Koti.

During these days I am angry all the time, angry right and left, angry right and left, everybody is getting scolded. Yes, just look, in a minute I'll prove that the commands I issued are not the same as what was printed in the newspapers. I do not know whether this was done deliberately, whether it was stupidity on the part of the reporters, I don't know. But it is obvious that it is not in keeping with the text which I gave you, Information Minister Achmadi.

The first command: The President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia/Great Leader of the Revolution to the whole of the operational units of the Dwikora: In order to overcome the consequences of the 30 September Movement incident in carrying out confrontation of Necolim, I hereby order: One, avoid all acts capable of damaging our struggle. Two, step up and perfect every operational unit of Dwikora which has been prepared. Three, mobilise all potentials for perfecting and securing the resistance of the Revolution. Djakarta, 21 October 1965, President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia/Great Leader of the Revolution, Sukarno.

I will read it again, and I shall ask that all delegates get it exactly like the copy in my hand:

One, avoid all acts capable of damaging our struggle. Avoid all acts capable of damaging our struggle. Which struggle? Our struggle in its entirety! The struggle of our Revolution! Our struggle against Necolim. Our struggle to build a just and prosperous society. Our struggle of everything to do with the Pantja Azimat of the Revolution as a whole. Avoid all acts capable of damaging our struggle. Now, surely you must understand what this term is, our struggle?! Our struggle in its entirety, the struggle of our Revolution. The Pantja Azimat, that is our struggle. Trisakti, that is our struggle. To smash "Malaysia", that is our struggle. Don't forget this matter; Saudara-Saudara of the Pantja Tunggal, concentrate your thoughts upon this.

Two, step up and perfect every operational unit of Dwikora which has been prepared.

Three, mobilise all potentials for perfecting and securing the resistance of the Revolution, the resistance of the Revolution! Is it possible for our nation to maintain this revolution, if our nation is like two tigers facing up to one another?! Wanting to pounce upon one another?! Our Revolution can possess resistance only if our nation is compactly united and progressive-revolutionary. Do all of you understand this?

Do not become ~~drugged~~, enflamed by sentiments.

The second

The second command: The President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia/Great Leader of the Revolution concerning measures for the securing of the Revolution. The securing of the Revolution!

I, President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia/Great Leader of the Revolution, realising that in consequence of the incident called the 30 September Movement, events and phenomena have arisen which endanger and threaten the life of the state in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, and which will have an influence upon raising the level of preparedness, both mental and physical, in confronting the enemy of the revolution, Necolim, in the context of consummating the revolution. Therefore, for the sake of creating an atmosphere of quiet and calm, as well as of restoring security and public order, and as an absolute condition for safeguarding the efforts to reach the objectives of the revolution I issue the command to all the apparatus of the state together with the whole of the people to:

One, build at all times the unity and integration of all the national progressive-revolutionary forces, upon the basis of the Pantja Azimat of the Revolution.

Two, keep well away from destructive acts, such as racialism, burning things down and breaking things.

Three, keep well away from slanders and steps taken on the basis of revengeful feelings.

Four, prohibit all demonstrations which do not first obtain permission from the authorities.

Five, continue to step up actions by the revolutionary masses in a constructive way and with high national discipline — and this I printed in capital letters and with an underline too — IN CONFRONTING NECOLIM AND ALL ITS SUBVERSIVE TACTICS.

I repeat number five: Continue to step up actions by the revolutionary masses in a constructive way and with high national discipline IN CONFRONTING NECOLIM AND ALL ITS SUBVERSIVE TACTICS.

In the newspapers, these capital letters did not appear, the underline did not appear, so that people thought: there, yes, we are even ordered to do this, to step up actions by the revolutionary masses! Good God! Masja Allah! I order you to make correction in the newspapers! May God Almighty bestow His help and guidance upon us all.

I will read these five again: One, build at all times the unity and integration of all the national progressive-revolutionary forces upon the basis of the Pantja Azimat of the Revolution.

Two, keep well away from destructive acts, such as racialism, burning things down and breaking things. In East Java there have been several

been several incidents of racialism. Right here/^{have}there been places burnt down and destruction of things. I order you to prohibit things like this! Whoever breaks things or burns them, and after you have prohibited it, they still flatly refuse to stop, shoot them! Hear my order! For this is to serve the Revolution, Saudara-Saudara. Keep well away from destructive acts such as racialism, burning things down and breaking things.

Three, keep well away from slanders and steps taken on the basis of revengeful feelings. Phew, this matter of revenge, Saudara, there is political revenge, there is economic revenge, there is personal revenge, all of them are now in use. Today this is the fashion, a mode; since 30th September the fashion is: we are against 30 September, we pass judgement upon 30 September, he followed 30 September, he followed 30 September. That's the fashion now. Partly because, well, people want to be safe, so they say they are anti-30 September, loyal, devoted, upholding the Supreme Commander of the Armed Services of the Republic of Indonesia/Great Leader of the Revolution, etc., etc., etc., etc., whilst this one, this one, this one is a 30 September man. I have received several reports about this, Saudara-Saudara.

For example, in a business — yes, a business. There were two leaders in that business, each one of whom did not agree with the other, was constantly rivaling the other. At bottom, both these two men wanted to be president-director of the company. Well, this situation just went on and on, Saudara-Saudara. The one said the other was no good, he was a 30 September man; it is me who is good, I do not agree with 30 September, it is proper for me to be president-director.

Just an example. This is a fact, Saudara-Saudara, a fact which is even in my hands for settlement.

Here is another fact again. Also about two blokes. In reality what was at the bottom of their conflict? Rivalry over a woman. Yes, The girl-friend of A turned around and went to B. So, A's girl-friend was now B's girl-friend, thus A became resentful of B. A reported that in fact B was a 30 September man, someone who was not to be trusted, whilst in fact at bottom it was that, at bottom it was that, Saudara-Saudara. I ordered it investigated; it was completely untrue that B was a 30 September man. But it was true that A's girl-friend was now in B's hands. These are just some examples of what has occurred, not just in Djakarta but also of course in the provinces. That is why I included in this command of mine: keep well away from slanders and steps taken on the basis of revengeful feelings. There are yet others.

I said just now some were political, some economic, some personal. Economic for instance. There is indeed a group in the economy, I can say, well, yes, a merchant group, which from former times, for years
from former

from former times was always competed against and got blow after blow from the Chinese in its trading. Indeed, it is usual, the Chinese are cleverer than we are in trade. But this situation was then by that group of ours which always got economic competition or hits or blows from the side of the Chinese. They said, they reported to me that in fact these people were communists, of the Chinese People's Republic, followers of 30 September. Whilst at bottom it was this. In this group A, for the first time in his life, took to talking politics; formerly he had never spoken about politics; formerly he had just been looking for profits, looking for money, looking for money through trade, by commerce. But his experience always was that he got competition and blows from the side of the Chinese. Ah, now here was a good opportunity for his competitors to be suspected or to be struck by the Government!

Politically, it has been of similar form. There are two groups which for years, from earlier times, have been opposed to each other. It is usual in political life for there to be two groups, two parties, two trends opposed to each other. But now, they ^{avail} themselves of the opportunity presented by the sentiment of today. One of them says, there, didn't I tell you so a while ago, they are the 30 September group.

In short, Saudara-Saudara, we must guard the Revolution, we really must be cautious, cautious, as I said a while ago. The Pantja Azimat, hold fast to these "Five Talismans". Hai, you people of the Pantja Tunggal, what are those Pantja Azimat? One of these Pantja Azimat, number one, is Nasakom. Nasakom, Pantja Sila, the Political Manifesto, Trisakti, Self-Reliance — five, the Pantja Azimat. At the present time, Saudara-Saudara, after this incident, both from at home and also from abroad, people are asking: What about Nasakom now? — it's been shown, hasn't it, Nasakom is no good — go to hell, Nasakom is no good.

Nasakom is good! Because both "Nas" as well as "A" as well as "Kom" are real visages of our Revolution. I do not say that "Kom" is the Indonesian Communist Party. I do not say either that "Kom" is the Indonesian Socialist Party, no! I do not say "Kom" is Aidit, no! But "Kom" as a reality in our Revolution can not be denied.

For decades past I have always said, and lately there has been published: Sukarno, by Sukarno himself — an article in Under the Banner of Revolution, written when I became a contributor to the newspaper Pemandangan. Read it. I wrote there, because I had then become a correspondent of Pemandangan, that it was as well for the readers of Pemandangan to know what Sukarno is. And so I wrote: Sukarno, by Sukarno himself. and there also I spoke about this Nasakom spirit of mine: I am a nationalist, I am a Muslim, a socialist. Three in one; three in one, Sukarno! On another occasion here, in front of the Merdeka

the Merdeka Palace, I said that I was the extraction of Nasakom, the extraction. For what reason? "Nas" is a countenance, a visage of our Revolution. "A" is a visage of our Revolution. "Kom" in the sense of Marxist-socialist is a visage of our Revolution.

Why is "Nas" a visage of our Revolution? Well, our Revolution is, look — remember the Five Facets — our Revolution is national. One facet is the national facet. In this national facet, it is primarily the sense of nationalism which is the activator, which is the driving force. We want to stand on our own as a nation. We want to have our own state. We want to have our own sovereign state. In the very first place nationalism is the driving force of this national revolution.

But also "A". In colonial times, religion was always under pressure. Especially the religion of Islam was under pressure. It was even the case that at that time there was an Adviseur voor Inlandse Zaken (Advisor for the Natives' Affairs) whose primary task was to spy upon this matter of religion. And eventually people were not free to perform their religious duties. It goes without saying that the desire arose in the ranks of the people for a society where religion was free. It was for that reason that religious people joined in the revolution. During the revolution in 1945 one of the strongest bodies of troops were the religious troops.

Not only "Nas" alone, Religion too. Thus religion, or the desire for religious freedom is one of the real visages of our Revolution. Similarly also with the socialist aspiration, which is "Soc" or which is Marxist or which is "Com", that is a real visage of our Revolution. For what reason?

I explained this to the Japanese newspapermen so that they nodded their heads and understood. Imperialism made us into a people, a nation of coolies. Living in leaky shacks. Eating at the rate of 2½ cents per person per day, food worth 2½ cents per person per day. A people of paupers, we had no education, we had no proper, no fitting, social life. It goes without saying that such a people, whether they are incited or not incited, whether there are communist leaders or no communist leaders, will have socialist aspirations. It goes without saying. Thus "Kom" is a real visage of our Revolution.

"Nas" is a real visage. "A" is a visage. "Kom" is a real visage. It is not possible for people to make this revolution without socialist aspirations and tendencies. It is not possible for people to make this revolution without national, nationalistic aspirations and tendencies. It is not possible for people to make this present revolution without religious aspirations and tendencies. All three of these are realities. That is why I as Great Leader, even before 1926, I had already said the bundling together of all the revolutionary forces, which took the form — I said at the time — of Nationalism, Islamism, Marxism. Later on there was the new term: Nasakom.

The Japanese journalists asked about this, it is asked about by our own society too. I say, it's still the same, it is still true that our Revolution can be safe only if we stand on that basis of Nasakom. And if Nasakom is interfered with, even slightly interfered with, as Nasakom, as the integration and the unity of the three realities in our revolution and our society, our Revolution will become weak.

I do not say "Nas" is thus Ali Sastroamidjojo, no. I do not say that "Nas" is thus Asmara Hadi, no. I do not say "A" is thus Idham Chalid or Sjaichu or Subchan, no. I do not say that "Kom" is thus Aidit, no, no, not at all. But "Nas" and "A" and "Kom" are factual visages of this Revolution of ours. We must make a unity of all three of them in order that our Revolution really is a strong revolution.

You are going to face this question in the provinces. Therefore, please understand what I have explained here and give the answer as I answer it to the people who ask you about it in the provinces.

For already there are voices: Huh, without "Kom" the Revolution can still go on; without "Kom" the revolution can still go ahead. How is it possible?! Before there was Aidit, before there was the Indonesian Communist Party, our nationalis movement already possessed socialist tendencies. At the time when, oh, Aidit was not yet born, **at the time when the Indonesian Communist Party had not yet been set up**, at that time socialistic tendencies were there, they had already grown, they already appeared. It is even the case that, if seen from the mystical point of view, from mysticism, before this twentieth century, with the teaching about Ratu Adil, with the teachings of Samin, these were basically socialistic ideologies. Saminism is socialistic. Ratu Adil is socialistic. I even said when I gave a speech here some time ago that the Dalang with what he says about gemah-ripah, loh-djinawi, etc., etc., etc., is in fact depicting the socialistic ideology of our nation.

And so, if in the provinces soon some people ask: What about that "Kom" from Nasakom? then Bapak President still continues to say that Nasakom is an absolute necessity for this Revolution of ours.

It is another matter with persons. That is another matter, I also say that the Army is an absolute necessity, but it is also another matter with the persons. The Air Force is an absolute necessity but it is another matter with the persons also. "Nas" is an absolute necessity, but it is another matter with the persons. However, as a visage of the revolution it is a reality which we must recognise and which we must accept and which we must make use of and which we must foster; otherwise we will not be able to make our revolution strong.

Well, Saudara-Saudara, that is my counsel. I said just now, I have ordered the Secretariat of Koti that all of you be given those two kinds of commands, and you execute commands in the provinces.

And, Minister for Information, emphasise to all newspapers that the words written in capitals with an underline, should also clearly show that underline and capitals in the papers.

Thank you.